1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

423 Edwin has the exclusive agricultural use of the field from which
472 his food products are obtained. This field he cleared himself, and at this time, he is engaged in the clearing of a new field somewhat to the east of his present house. The fields used by the members of Miller's clearing lie some distance through the bush to the northwest of the settlement, to which they are connected by paths. The large field which lies farthest to the north is used by the households of Miller, Columbus, David, and David's son-in-law, Joseph, each having the production of a certain specified portion of the area. The field originally belonged to Miller exclusively, having been cut by him with the assistance of Columbus. Later additions were made by David and his son, before the latter was married. Samuel owns the field nearest to the large semi-communal field. Columbus is in the process of cutting a new field of his own, and Joseph (David's son-in-law) has just planted the fourth field, which will be used by his and David's household. Thus, the partnership use of a large field seems to be a temporary measure, the younger partners having now become well enough settled to set up for themselves. The single large field, occupied jointly and worked by the members of John Cook's clearing, seems to be a similar case. The latter group of households has been only recently established, and they have joined together in the clearing of a large field, which has been apportioned out so that each household owns a definite tract of it. Within a year or two, when the cutting of new fields becomes necessary, John, Henry Daniel, and Daniel plan to cut fields of their own. According to informants, this method of procedure has been followed in other settlements on the river.

● 476 In regard to the field used by Miller's household, it has already been mentioned that Columbus has assisted in its clearing. Samuel also assisted in a somewhat minor way. In other words, it appears that Miller, who because of his injured left arm is handicapped in field cutting, has the assistance of these two young kinsmen of his. Miller compensates Columbus through the help which his women give Columbus's young wife in housework and field work. But just what reciprocity exists between Miller and Samuel in this respect, I was unable to determine.

Canoe building is a type of labor which is facilitated by co-operation. The co-operation in such enterprises seems to follow

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR? Carib SR9

no definite lines. Thus, during my stay in the settlement John Cook and his brother Daniel built a woodskin together: sometime later Edwin and Henry Daniel co-operated in the building of a cassiri kanu (or barrel); David's son-in-law, Joseph, on the other hand, constructed a korial (dugout canoe) single handed.

The only house built during my stay was the half-completed structure begun by Henry (husband of Caroline). In this task he did most of the work, assisted somewhat by Samuel, the husband of Caroline's chum and sister, Elizabeth.

Thus we see that economic status and co-operative effort have little connection with social differentiation in Sawari.

Economic opportunity, on the other hand, may be said to be a factor in the unifying of a settlement. John Cook and Henry (Caroline's husband) are two examples of men to whom the fields, hunting grounds, and trade goods of Sawari appeared as attractions. Exhaustion of arable land or hunting territory will, conversely, tend to disintegrate a settlement. Although this has not occurred yet at Sawari, it is an important consideration in other cases, for instance, Korotoko, which was completely abandoned on account of the exhaustion of the soil.

Friendships. Friendships are closest between men of the same clearing. Indeed, this factor seems to be an important one originally in the local groupings, as already demonstrated. Within Miller's clearing, Samuel and Joseph (David's son-in-law) spend a good deal of time together. John Cook and his brother Daniel are close. Edwin and John (of Cook's settlement) often hunt together. Other friendships were not outstanding, with the exception of the one which sprang up between my interpreter and Samuel, both perfect strangers when they first met. On the basis of information gained from informants here and in other villages, I was unable to conclude that friendships rigidly follow either the lines of blood or of locality. As among ourselves, they are based on more or less complex personal factors, often imponderable, and as among ourselves, they vary in stability and intensity. Witness the crumbling of the friendship between Miller and Cook. In any case, friendship, so far as I was able to learn, implies no ritual or magical connection between the participants, nor does it take on the full solemnity and earnestness of a David and Johnathan relationship. Friends simply spend time together, some-

175 342 (Gillin 1936:31-9). As a house became dilapidated, it would be used for cooking or storage purposes, and a new one built to support the hammocks of the various members of the household.

175 584 [582] Preparatory to a marriage, a young man was required to cut a field and build a house nearby and pass a hunting test given by the bride's family. This appears to have been a formality that finalized an agreeable relationship among all concerned (Gillin 1936:74-75).

175 591 [606] At first, the young husband resided with his wife's family. During this time he cooperated actively with his wife's father and other male relatives still in the household. Expressive of the temporary nature of the extension of the family, the young man rendered his father-in-law deference, usually not talking to him directly but through his daughter. [851] This period of matrilocal residence generally would end soon after the birth of a first child (Gillin 1936:97). The newly established household was then an autonomous unit.

175 476 571 621 [462] As for the cooperation among households, this principally involved men's activities, farm cutting, hunting, canoe building, house constructing, and the like. In these instances, cooperation is not necessary, but rather expedient. As a result, patterns of cooperation lacked permanence and explicitness. Friendships among men seem to have been the basis for recruiting work partners. Women cooperated as well, but their friendships had no consequences in social organization (Gillin 1936:136). [592] The adult men moved their households about freely to enter into associations with other men from households in the vicinity. In general, cooperation developed among "brothers," actual siblings and parallel cousins (Gillin 1936:97), and these 175 476 593 605 [591] kinsmen tended to settle near each other.

175 kinsmen tended to settle near each other. At times such as during
476 the field days held for poisoning a creek for fish, all the men and
593 women in one location would cooperate (Gillin 1936:11-12). Gillin
605 [621] reports that the extent of mutual cooperation among "parallel kinsmen" made these stronger bonds than that between a man and his son-in-law (1936:97), and aggregations of their households composed a settlement such as Sawari.

175 At the time Gillin visited Sawari, it was composed of three clear-
592 ings or aggregations of cooperating households. The largest of these,
621 John Miller's clearing, included seven adult men (1936:117-125).
[595] Miller, about forty, was prominent among them. He had had a previous marriage but currently had a new young wife and was acquiring her younger sister as well. His father-in-law was an old man, David. Two of Miller's widowed sisters had recently attracted into the group two brothers, Henry and Samuel. Their other brother, Colombus, with his child bride was also present. Two young men, Joseph, a son-in-law of David, and Joseph, a son of David, completed the group of men.
175 All of these had apportioned plots in a field Colombus and Miller
476 had originally cut and David and his son Joseph had enlarged. The
621 temporary partnership in fields was dissolving as the newcomers to Sawari were establishing fields of their own (Gillin 1936:134). Other mutual assistance such as hunting and canoe building was conducted between various men in this clearing and those in the other clearings on an individual basis according to the inclinations and the sway of influence to which each man was subjected.

175 John Cook was probably the same age as Miller (Gillin 1936:125-8).
571 Several years ago upon the death of his first wife, he was attracted
159 to Savari out of his friendship with Miller. He consequently took a
621 kinswoman of Miller as a wife.[1] As Cook became established in Savari, he attracted men in his own right. As he did so, his friendship and cooperation with Miller waned. Expressive of this rift is their discontinued participation in a common cassiri spree,[2] the one form of public activity including ritualized behavior. During Gillin's visit, Cook's group ceased attending Miller's cassiri sprees but held their own. In addition to Cook, there were three men in his clearing. These included his half-brother Daniel and his half-sister's husband, Henry Daniel, who is also a fourth brother to the group of three in Miller's clearing. Also, a man named John, about thirty-five, had moved his household to Savari on the basis of his friendship with Cook. All of these men together had cleared a field and had the use of respective plots in it.

The third clearing was that of a single man, Edwin, who was also a contemporary of Miller and Cook. Edwin farmed by himself. However, indifferent to the enmity between Miller and Cook, he assisted both of them at times with other tasks such as constructing a cassiri kanu and a woodskin boat. Gillin suggests that Edwin's failure to attract a group around him is due to his lack of leadership qualities (1936:127-128). It is also clear that Edwin at this point in time does not have the same advantage as Miller and Cook regarding marriageable female relatives with whom to negotiate these satellites. His oldest child was a male about sixteen. His other children were daughters under twelve years of age.

*177 592 464 1969 have had consequences in the interrelationships among Carib households. Cooperation within households developed as men were first employed by porknockers. A young boy would accompany his father on such employment and to some extent share the uncertainty of his father's employment. Usually the father collected and managed the wages earned by his young son. Also, young unmarried brothers would work together during these early opportunities. However, this is still a recruiting of work partners from the existing household unit.

*177 593 464 606 As job opportunities became more substantial, the composition of the household changed. The cooperation between father and son was maintained as was that between father and son-in-law. This partnership persisted beyond the son's or son-in-law's youth to his position as a married adult, himself a father of children. Employment opportunities held these trans-generational pairs together. The instrumental nature of friendship among brothers, real and classificatory, diminished as household members became allied by employment. The general emphasis on cooperating partners of the same age shifted to a trans-generational recruitment pattern. In contrast to extra-household, associational work relationships, the new work opportunities promoted father-son and father-son-in-law cooperative bonds. As males secured employment, they tended to disassociate from the pattern of sharing resources with a group of cognatic kinsmen. Thus, employment opportunities of any duration acted to stabilize partnerships within a household, and as a consequence, the presence of a son-in-law was no longer indicative of a transitional phase and a

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*177 464 592

2: Adams E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1973 SR9 Carib SR9
(1932-1971) Barama River

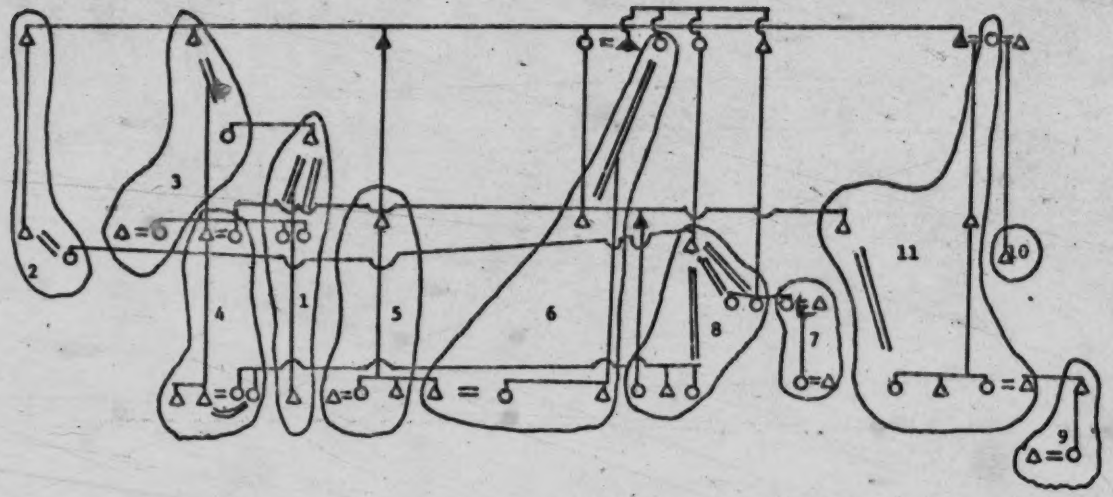

Figure 12. Kinship Relationships and Cooperative Boundaries among the Carib Men Residing near In Time and at Big Creek, 1969.*

*Only the most immediate kinship relationships are detailed, although wider affiliations add much more complexity. Accordingly, wives are only represented when they are links in the relationships among these men.

*177 592 464 [621] Among the other men in these households of miners, those not employed are either old enough to be retired from this work or too young to have begun an employment career. Thus, a household included up to three adult men in different stages of involvement with employment opportunities. The trans-generational recruitment of work partners is clear. As a pattern, the older men who had been employed for a substantial number of years attracted to their households sons and sons-in-law. The older men would seek employment on their behalf. An exception to father-son and father-son-in-law recruitment pattern is the man with a work partnership with his wife's younger brother (cluster 8 in Figure 12). In this case the age difference is still apparent. As a pattern, the younger partner was brought into an employment opportunity at an age when he was a dependent in an established miner's household. The younger man became another link in the client relationship the older man had established with Baird. Any further elaboration with regard to the pattern of life cycles of men or households under the circumstances of employment in mining was terminated with the cessation of In Time mine in 1969.

[571]

In any case, this household organization was not dictated by the nature of the work, but rather by the manner of securing and maintaining the work.[3] As is abundantly apparent from Figure 12, Baird's workers were close kinsmen. Nevertheless, with the limited number of jobs available, there was no opportunity for these men to use kinship ties to form ary independent corporate organization. Rather, employment opportunities in the mining tended to eliminate economic cooperation between households by introducing an external broker between them.

[602]

*177 464 476 571

*177 361 [476] the retention of father and son and son-in-law bonds among workers, as well as by the centralization around the air strip. Temporary cooperation to aid relatives in settling in a new location is also a 121 factor in the current residence situation. At this time little analysis can be made of the life cycles of family groups or of individuals. Data are available only on the first year of the resettlement around the air strip, a time of considerable change in the extent and nature of the external resources available in the Upper Barama River area. Family organization is responding to these new circumstances.

*177 464 The population in the satellite settlements, Baramita and Aranka, has had a different experience with the regional economy. Among these segments of the population, men have had little or no employment. The headman of Aranka worked about five separate one-year periods in his youth with porknockers. Another man from Aranka worked for two years at In Time while living with his father. Now he is one of the headman's sons-in-law. Also, men from Aranka have been employed from time to time by the Malaria Eradication Officer. For the most part, the populations in these settlements have maintained a subsistence [438] adaptation to the rain forest. Their livelihoods have been supplemented by selling small amounts of local provisions for commercial items at the trade store.

*177 592 621 The residence patterns in these satellite settlements are somewhat different and they also differ from that characteristic of the households at the Air Strip. At Baramita in 1971, there were five clearings. One was inhabited by a man and wife and their children. Two others were nuclear families recently extended by the addition of

Holding office has 115
*177 served to extend the household of the current
592 Captain. He is about fifty and has two wives, one of whom he married
622 as a widow and one who is very young. Extra adult members have been
621 added by including a daughter of the older wife, and a daughter and
grandaughter of the Captain's stepmother. They have all brought a
[428] son-in-law into this extended household. In this last case, as in
all these residential arrangements, there is no promise of inheritance
or other legacy beyond the situation to hold extended households
together.

*177 External resources have resulted in centralized settlements with-
592 in which kinship groups residing in different clearings tend to be
621 closed resource-sharing social units. For the most part, the clear-
[596] ings are inhabited by single households composed of extended families.
In no case are individuals or young, childless couples living alone.
Co-residence may be considered an index of extended cooperation and
*177 sharing of resources. Men who reside in the same clearing have part-
• 476 nerships in cultivated fields which along with hunting and gathering
and occasional employment are the major sources of subsistence since
the closing of the gold mine. The pattern of more extended reci-
procity which existed prior to the availability of external resources
has been changed. No longer is there any marked occurrence of the
exchange of assistance among groups of men who are brothers or
parallel cousins. In the cases in which adult brothers are in co-
residence, usually their father is also present. Men in much more
circumscribed relationships; i.e., father, son, son-in-law, now tend
to cooperate in securing subsistence from local as well as external
resources. Within the pattern of trans-generational recruitment,

*177 the dependent partners are identifiable. This contrasts to the
• 496 associational nature of the previous pattern of cooperation among the Carib men.

*177 The increased isolation of the family group resident in a clear-
175 ing has affected the assignment of tasks according to sex. Gillin
462 reports a discrete separation of tasks (1936:3,46,51,71). Men would hunt and clear fields, construct houses, canoes and cassiri kanus, and do all basketry and plaiting. Women would harvest cultigens, gather edibles from the forest, prepare all food, sew, tend children, and exclusively assist in childbirth while the men were not allowed in the clearing. Men and women would cooperate to plant fields and poison streams for fish. During 1970-71, men were observed in their own households engaged in all of those tasks which previously were allocated to women. For the most part, women's tasks are those which must be done on a daily basis. Men assisted with the activity when the females in the household were otherwise indisposed and there was
[844] no wider circle of females to call upon. Men now commonly deliver their wife's children. Women, on the other hand, were not observed taking part in any of the men's activities.

*177 Exchanges between people from households in different clearings
437 are now conveyed in terms of immediate exchange. Barter has been
[436] used, but increasingly the exchange of labor, food, or craft items
*177 is conducted with money. Labor assistance, including help in clear-
464 ing and planting fields, building houses and cassiri kanus, and
465 processing cassiri, is paid for either in food or money. Manioc
*177 tubers, the prepared cassava cakes, turtles and other bush meat are
43

*177 43 sold between clearings, and although not conducted through trade store channels, prices are those in use at the trade store. Rates of exchange for food and craft items not carried in the trade store tend to be much more variable. Also, food payments for labor services tend to vary. When money is used, the rate is usually identical with payments made for government employment. The extent of these local [621] transactions is not great. Yet they, along with the absence of general reciprocity, demonstrate the tendency for households in different clearings to be closed with regard to sharing resources. Obviously, there now exists differential access to money or local *177 463 resources on a situational basis. This contrasts to the lack of economic specialization among the population prior to the introduction of the gold mining companies and the more sustained difference among miners and nonminers during the existence of gold enterprises.

*177 476 464 During 1970-71, exchanges for short term labor involved both groups and individuals. The kaiyap or group work day is a recent innovation among the Upper Barama River Caribs. It has only occurred at the Air Strip and has been exclusively attended by Air Strip residents. During the year of field work, few men were sufficiently comfortable with the resources they commanded to exchange days of work with others. Consequently, the kaiyap has taken a special form. Four kaiyaps were held by three men, including the Captain. For each, a group of about twenty men worked during the morning to clear [293] a field. They were served cassiri in the field, and after work, they had a meal at the house of the man sponsoring the kaiyap. Then, the remainder of the cassiri was consumed in a convivial atmosphere

during the afternoon. The families of the working men would arrive and take part in this cassiri spree. No residue of obligations persisted from these group work days.

Also, the Captain used his income and agricultural resources to recruit men for projects he undertook as officeholder. At times, men were gathered to assist in cutting fields for Carib households newly moving to the Air Strip. The first self-help project in October 1970 involved building school desks and benches. A carpenter who had come to make repairs on the government residence houses stayed on to provide designs for the furniture and to supervise their construction. Every weekday morning for about three weeks, several men would turn out for this work. The second self-help project occurred in January 1971. The abandoned missionary lands were cleared of secondary bush for farms. During the mornings, over a period of nineteen days, the Captain and several other men cut down bush. At the beginning, one man who is a particularly good hunter was provided ammunition to hunt for the rest. Also, the Captain distributed other food from his farm and the trade store. In each case, specific work groups lacked permanence. The composition of groups changed every day of these projects. In all cases, the men received some immediate return for their participation.

Smaller groups of men have also been employed by other Caribs. Groups of men from the same residential clearing as well as individuals have been paid to do other tasks, including building houses and cassiri kanus, and clearing fields. Brothers, sons, fathers, fathers-in-law, and sons-in-law not sharing residence have been paid to do this work.

*177 159 323 she is a dependent widow and lives with her two daughters and son-in-law in his father's clearing. Her pots are particularly noted for being lopsided, making them easy to identify. She was the first to attempt to locate a suitable clay source at the Air Strip. She makes only tuluvas and has sold four at the Air Strip. Three were sold for the use of the mother of the man in whose clearing she resides and one for his sister.

*177 593 431 The only cases in which pots were presented as gifts between clearings involve exchanges between mother and adult daughter. These are actual mother and daughter pairs. Classificatory relatives are not included. These gifts were made in four cases during the period of observation and are an aspect of the sustained generalized reciprocity between mother and adult child in different clearings. Exchanges between mother and adult son usually involve food. However, these exchanges are not formalized in any way and they do not always occur between specific mother and child pairs.

*177 592 [621] In sum, the pattern of cooperation among adult individuals residing in the same settlement has been eroded by the introduction of wage work, other markets, and a money economy. The household composed of an adult man and his wife or wives and children remains the primary cooperative economic unit. However, the household has been extended in various instances to include the adult son or son-in-law and their families. The sustained flow of mutual assistance among a wider circle of kinsmen no longer exists as a common pattern.

[406]

*177 476 624 There is one exception to this pattern which has relevance only in its situational context. As the miners re-established bush farms,

and as others moved to the Air Strip, the prominent Councillor was a pronounced source of agricultural assistance. At one time or another, he helped all households that moved to the Air Strip. To those who requested it, he would give a wolisha (a large basket for carrying loads on the back) of manioc tubers or processed cassava cakes. Clearly, the Councillor was not providing a major portion of subsistence for anyone outside his household. Yet, he was a source of temporary relief during a time when farms were not yet productive and other sources of subsistence foods were scarce. Also, the Councillor made available manioc stalks necessary for planting new fields. Partly as a consequence of these activities, the prominent Councillor was elected as Captain during the second local election held at the Air Strip in October 1971.

As he is a long time resident of the Air Strip and had expanded his already established agricultural fields, the Councillor was able to make allegiances among the population in this manner. During the spring of 1971, he had 16.2 acres under cultivation compared to the incumbent Captain's farms, which amounted to 11.3 acres. This contrasts to 5.8 acres which was the average size of the cultivated fields of the remaining eighteen clearings at the Air Strip. However, this does not represent any sustained differential relationship to local resources. Agricultural fields are not exchanged. Rather, land holding is determined by the labor invested to develop it and remains a resource until it is reclaimed by the forest.[6]

Over time, the size and stability of Carib settlements have changed. Increasingly, the population has centralized around sources of external resources.

175 cross cousins, brothers-in-law, and male cross cousins' sons. Again,
582 a particular male may fall into more than one of these relationships.
All strange males of approximately the same age are also included.

175 Thus, this kinship system is in keeping with the subsistence
605 organization among the Upper Barama River Caribs for the time period
602 before the introduction of external resources. Adult brothers as well
[476] as parallel cousins tended to render each other mutual assistance and
[593] thus live near each other. With the practice of cross-cousin marriage,
[582] these men tended to marry sisters or women who were parallel cousins
to each other. Thus, a child tended to grow up in the company of his
[768] parallel cousins, who were equated with his siblings. If his actual
[736] mother or father died or otherwise left, they would likely be replaced
by other individuals already in the child's horizon of interaction as
people in the categories of mother and father. Symmetrical cross-
[582] cousin marriage was extended to provide for the contingencies of re-
cruiting marriageable partners in a small population. With regard to
marriage with sister's daughter, this is not a separately designated
category. Rather this person is merged with a much larger category
of marriageable individuals.[8]

*177 The new organizational strategies are apparent in changes in the
601 kinship system. The discontinuation of mutual assistance among men
[476] who are brothers or parallel cousins and a greater longevity of
people have change elements of this system. In the first ascending
generation, father and father's brother and mother and mother's
sister are all separately designated. Previously, father and father's
brother were one identity. Mother and mother's sister were also
merged as one category.

000 been considered.

*177 • 476 439 To summarize, the extent of generalized reciprocity and, conversely, immediate exchange involving labor and material goods have been used to identify resource-sharing social units among the Upper

*177 621 Barama River Carib population. Over time, the resource-sharing boundaries have changed. In a position of relative isolation in the rain forest when Gillin studied them, the Upper Barama River Caribs evidence no pattern of material exchanges outside the settlement. This was a social unit fluctuating in location, size of population, as well as life span. Within settlements, further organization consisted of clearings and, within clearings, households. People resident in settlements tended to consist of a category of cooperating kinsmen. Among them, the exchange of labor and the sharing of tools and food was patterned on a generalized basis. Since the introduction of wage employment and other regional markets, the population has become centralized by participation in common regional networks of

*177 592 439 exchange. Settlements have tended to become more permanent and larger in population size. Households have tended to become separated from ties of generalized reciprocity with a wider kinship group. Exchanges directly between Carib households are now conducted with money or

*177 621 other immediate payments. However, there are no permanent stores of resources to support corporate organization or other institutional elaboration, and this population has been politically organized only to the extent that a local administrative structure has been imposed.

*177 602 Among the Upper Barama River Caribs, aspects of the regional networks of exchange have promoted certain kinship ties and dissolved others.

2: Adams E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1973 SR9 Carib SR9
(1932-1971) Barama River

VI

CONCLUSIONS

In the previous chapters, attention has been given to the correlations over time of resources available for exploitation and the size and organization of a single population. The economic and reproductive adjustments of the Upper Barama River Caribs have been investigated. In their specific pathway from relative isolation in the rain forest into a national political economy, social organization and population size have been related to resource development. As this population has been centralized by common participation in networks of regional exchange, the household has emerged as the resource-sharing social unit. Ties of general reciprocity with a wider kinship group have tended to be dissolved. Another type of organization which has emerged to consolidate advantage in the regional economy has been client relationships with a middleman patron. In addition, external sources of food and clothing and medical care have tended to override relationships between population size and adaptation to local rain forest resources. An accelerating rate of population growth is currently evident among the Upper Barama River Caribs. In short, this population has evidenced changes in organization and increased population size under the conditions of its national integration.

Adapting to the rain forest, the Upper Barama River Carib population participated in the direct organism-to-organism cycling of